(see above, No. 14) that <u>fu</u> may have had the meaning of "attendant."

Paul L-M. Serruys remarked that Takashima's interpretation of
<u>bing</u> 丙 as the pictograph of a horse's butt did not seem very well-
founded. <u>Takashima</u> admitted that this was his conjecture, but he
felt etymologically justified; for instance, even the character <u>bing</u>
病 ("sick") which has the phonosemantic element <u>bing</u> might have come
into existence by means of a sick person in a "stiffened" state
(両方にパンと張り出た in Japanese) similar to the appearance of a
horse's butt viewed from behind. Another meaning, perhaps related to
this sense, is "a pair," as in a pair of wheels, which explains the
use of <u>bing</u> as a classifier/counter for chariot, as well as for
horse. <u>Serruys</u> said that even though he had heretofore considered
<u>bing</u> to be inexplicable, he thought there were perhaps certain rela-
tions to the character <u>geng</u> 更 . <u>Takashima</u> pointed out that there
was a phonological problem involved in reconciling the two initials
(in the archaic pronounciation: *<u>krang</u> vs. *<u>pjang</u>). Was there such
phonological Urform as √pk that could have accomodated both p and k?
<u>Serruys</u> quoted the Indo-European analogy of gr. πεντε /lat.
quinque ("five"), where the existence of such a root had long been
attested. <u>Wang Guimin</u> pointed out that, at any rate, <u>bing</u> 柄 is
still a counter in Modern Chinese.

20. ITŌ MICHIHARU (University of Tokyo)
THE CHARACTER OF <u>XUCI</u> AS SEEN IN THE ORACLE INSCRIPTIONS

ABSTRACT:

Based on a careful analysis of the words <u>hui</u> 叀 (重) and <u>wei</u>
隹 in the oracle inscriptions, the author comes to the conclusion
that they are most naturally explained as grammatic particles (<u>xuci</u>
虚辞). <u>Hui</u> should be interpreted as highlighting that which is
the main interest of the inquiry. <u>Wei</u> is very similar in meaning and
grammatic function, but not in nuance of connotation; while <u>hui</u> is
"closely connected with the manner of affirmation" and occurs mostly
in divinations of a positive nature, <u>wei</u> tends to occur in a context
of negation and inauspiciousness.

The distribution of the two particles through the inscription
record, however, is uneven: <u>hui</u> scarcely occurs in the oracle bones
of Tung Tso-pin's Period II, while <u>wei</u> is virtually absent in Periods
III and IV. Yet continuous developments of meanings can be traced
throughout the epigraphic record -- including the oracle bones from
Anyang and Zhou yuan as well as the bronze inscriptions. <u>Wei</u> by
Period V has developed into a marker of words of time reference.
Shang <u>xuci</u> are more restricted than later ones both in their range of
occurrence and in their implied meanings.

DISCUSSION:

Itō Michiharu appended to his summary the notion that the change in the meaning of hui 甶 / 叀 and wei 隹 was indicative of a change in the language as a whole, and presumably the result of a change in thinking patterns. He suggested that this might be an aspect of those changes in the Middle Period of Late Shang previously analysed by Wang Guimin in his paper to the conference (see above, No. 6).

David Nivison suggested applying Ken-ichi Takashima's categories of "controllable" vs. "uncontrollable action" to the grammatical phenomena surrounding the use of hui 甶 / 叀 and wei 隹 . According to Nivison's view, hui should only be used in instances of controllable action, where it showed what course of action ought to be taken, whereas wei 隹 would have been used in instances of uncontrollable action. Wu wei 勿隹 would be the same as hui with a negative modality. [At this point it has proved impossible to provide an accurate reproduction of what was said -- even, more importantly, what was intended -- in the discussion between Nivison and Takashima; one must await their future publications on this topic--DNK.]

Edward Shaughnessy later inquired about the meaning of hui in the Zhou yuan documents and was referred to Itō's examples 25 and 26.

Itō mentioned that he had originally planned to include the negative particles bu 不 , wu 勿 , and fu 弗 , as well as the particles qi 其 and wei 隹 in his paper, but had had to postpone these plans because of lack of time. He agreed that systematic surveys were necessary, especially about bu in conjunction with qi. Takashima remarked that wu never occurred in conjunction with qi. There is one example of such a case published in Chang Ping-ch'üan's Bingbian kaoshi but on examining the original bone at Taibei, Takashima had been unable to find this part of the inscription even with a magnifying glass.

Wang Guimin supported Itō's notion that his paper and Itō's might point in the same direction. He thought that the difference between qi and hui in the oracle texts was that when qi was used, the result had already been decided on beforehand, whereas when using hui, the diviners had not yet made up their minds. He also noted that hui may have had an emphatic function, transporting the object to the front of the sentence. This very striking grammatical feature needed further explanation (see Itō's examples Nos. 19, 18, 44). Itō agreed that there ought to be one explanation of hui accommodating all usages of the word, including those with abnormal syntax. Not only the purely grammatical function of hui needed, however, to be researched, but also its psychological connotation in the speaker's mind.